

**MEHMET SHEHU**

**MAGNIFICENT BALANCE  
OF VICTORIES IN THE COURSE  
OF 35 YEARS OF SOCIALIST  
ALBANIA**



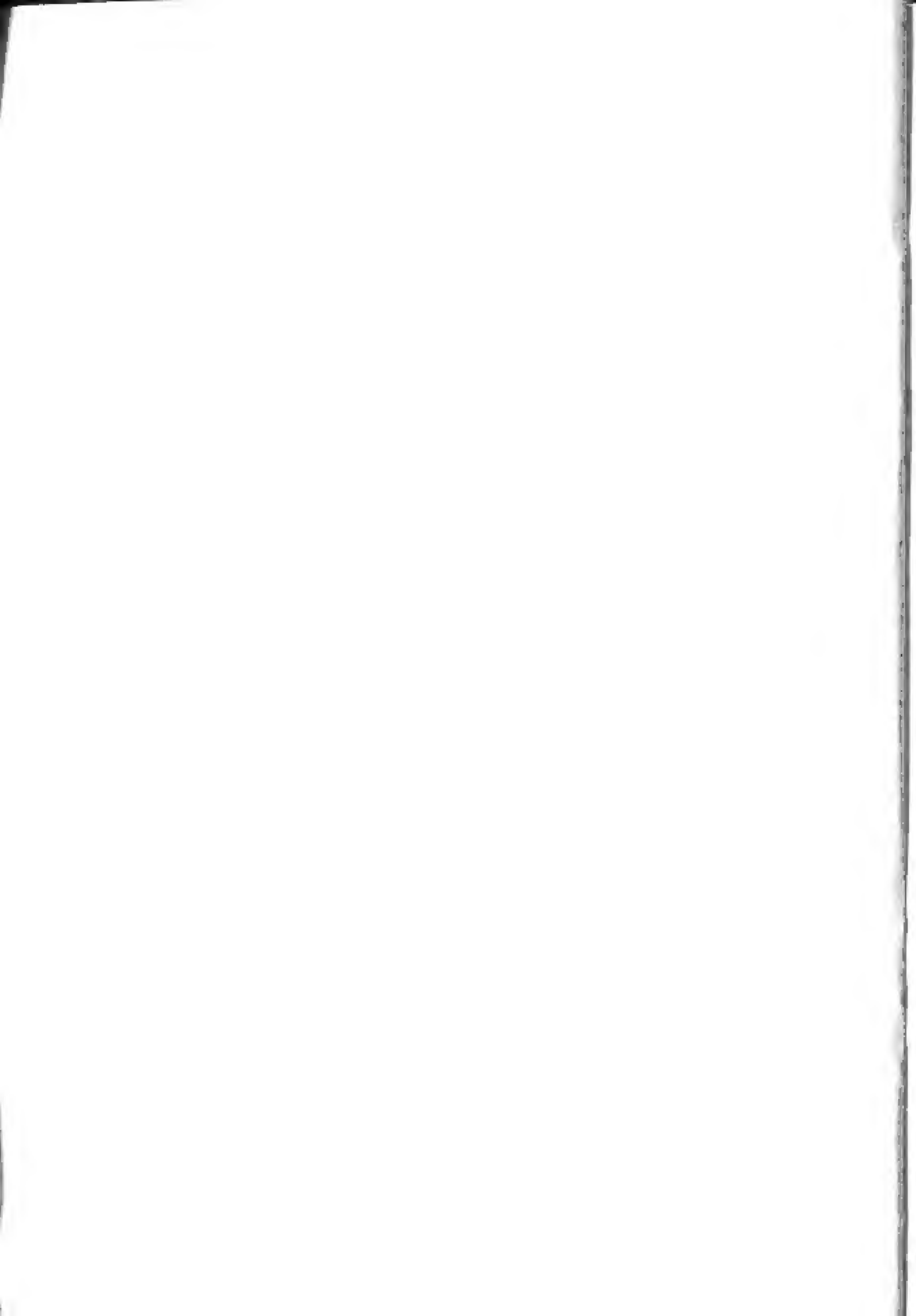
# MEHMET SHEHU

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee  
of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chairman of the  
Council of Ministers of the PSRA

## MAGNIFICENT BALANCE OF VICTORIES IN THE COURSE OF 35 YEARS OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

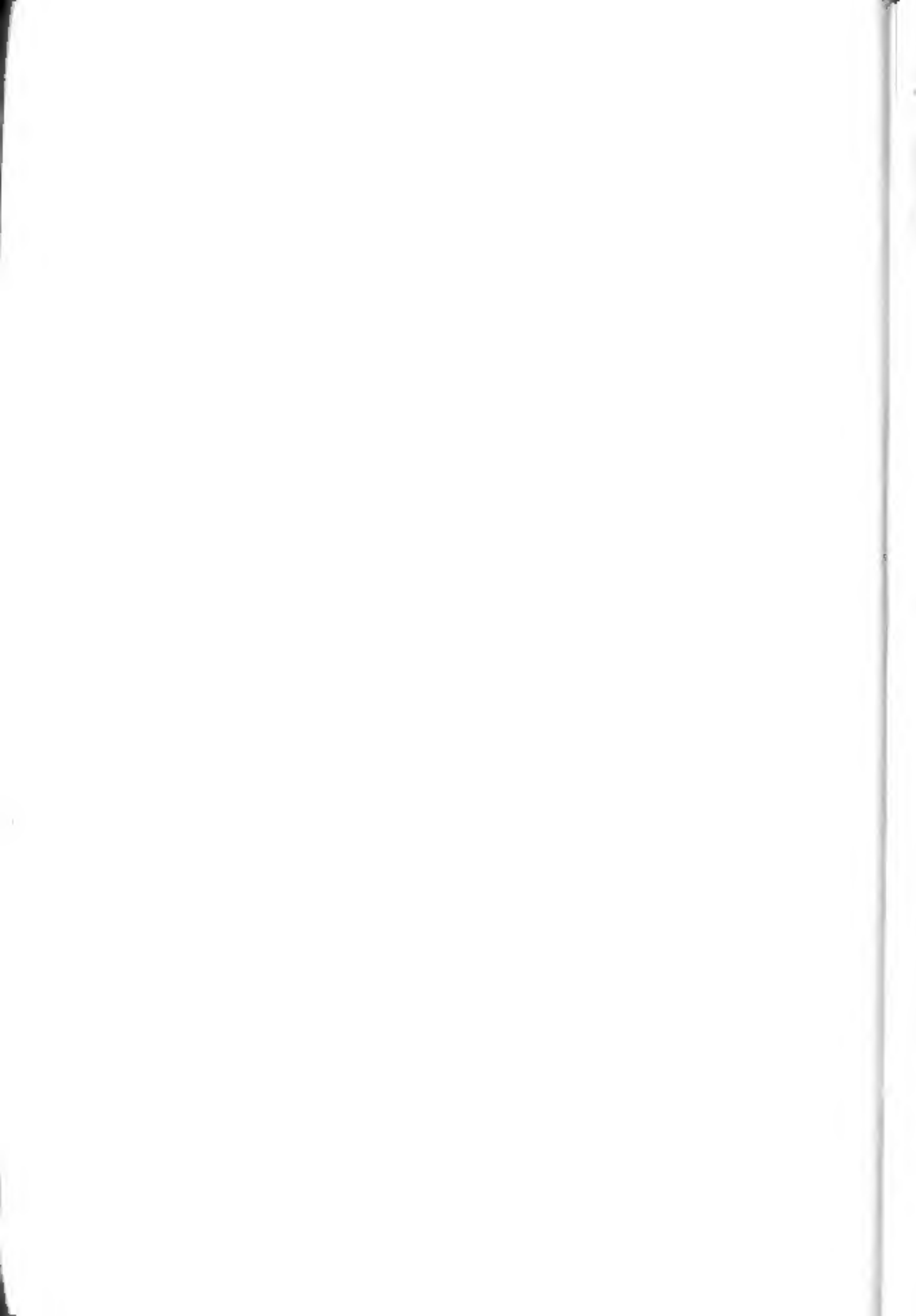
*Speech at the commemorative meeting  
on the 35th anniversary of the Libera-  
tion of the Homeland and the triumph of  
the people's revolution, delivered on  
November 28, 1979*

THE «8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE  
TIRANA 1979





**MEHMET SHEHU**



Dear comrades,  
Brothers and sisters,  
Honoured guests,

Today our people celebrate their great jubilee — the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers and the triumph of our people's revolution. November 29th, 1944 marked a decisive turning-point in the destiny of the Albanian people. Albania was liberated from the rule of foreigners and the exploiting classes, established the people's power, which right from the outset, carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, broke away from the capitalist system and set out on the road of socialism.

In our country the people's power was born from the barrel of the gun, in the National Liberation War; the blood of our many martyrs lies at its foundations. Nobody gave

us our freedom, we won it with blood, with our own forces alone, without the need for the armies of the allies of that time to come directly to our aid on Albanian soil. Today our greatest respect is directed to all those who fell on the field of battle for the freedom and independence of the country, for our people's revolution, as well as to those who gave their lives for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland after Liberation.

In celebrating the 35th anniversary of the new, socialist Albania and the 67th anniversary of the proclamation of Independence, the Party and our people remember with profound respect all the fighters, patriots and revolutionaries of the Renaissance, the men of the rifle and the pen, who spared no efforts, not even their lives and their blood, for the freedom and progress of the Homeland, for the interests and the good of the people.

On the 35th anniversary of their free and happy life, our people today see that their loftiest desires and aspirations have become a reality, and this is thanks to their own struggle and work, their blood and sweat, under the leadership of our glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.



Comrades, long live our great celebration, long live the 35-year old new Albania, the invincible bastion of socialism and triumphant Marxism-Leninism!

Together with us, all our brother Albanians who live outside the Homeland are celebrating the 28th and 29th of November heart and soul, because we all have the one mother — Mother Albania, the long-suffering Albania, the indomitable, heroic and radiant Albania. The innumerable friends and well-wishers of Albania in all countries of the world are also celebrating with us today. From this commemorative meeting we send them our ardent greetings and sincere gratitude for their love and pure and kindly feelings, for their solidarity and support for the new, socialist Albania.

## **A MAGNIFICENT BALANCE OF SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES**

Comrades,

We are celebrating the great jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of our people's

revolution against the background of those radical transformations in every field of life, which have completely changed the face of pre-Liberation Albania. We emerged from centuries of darkness into the eternal light of socialism, and today we enjoy freedom and independence, a happy life in our prosperous and ever flourishing Homeland.

The Albania of the past — the Albania of the mediaeval regime of Zog, of beys, agas, merchants and gendarmes, a country where the peasants and workers were savagely oppressed, exploited and humiliated by the ruling classes, has become today the free Homeland of the working people, where the working class is in power — the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, the country where exploiting classes no longer exist since they have been overthrown and eliminated through struggle; the country where private property and the exploitation of man by man have been done away with; the country with the most advanced social order in the world, the country where the lofty ideals of scientific socialism have been and are being realized.

The war destroyed everything, exacted a heavy toll in blood, reduced even our poor cottages and those few possessions we had to dust and ashes. No people emerged from the Second World War with greater devastation than the Albanian people. But we gained what is dearest to us — our true and permanent freedom, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist road.

The Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour), founded in the heat of the war and built up in permanent struggle, founded and always led with boundless loyalty and rare mastery by Comrade Enver Hoxha brought us our freedom. Without the Party we would have remained in bondage for ever. With the Party and under its leadership we gained everything we enjoy today, overcame and will overcome all the difficulties and enemies, and will go on enjoying everything good in the future, too. Eternal glory to our heroic Party, loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism! Glory to the founder and leader of our Party, the great son of our people, the faithful continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, our dearly beloved Comrade Enver Hoxha!

No sooner had the last partisan offensive against the foreign occupiers and local traitors ended, no sooner had Albania been liberated, than the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha issued the call for another offensive — **for the reconstruction of the country** and healing the grave wounds of the war. And the entire people rose to their feet and launched themselves into fresh assault with all their might. Barefoot and in rags, our belts pulled tight, we had to work tooth and nail with the pick, but always with the rifle handy, for the reconstruction of the country, until we succeeded in creating the conditions for the new Albania to set out on the road of five-year plans.

The 1st five-year plan was the plan of the period 1951-1955. For the succeeding 29 years we have been working and building **on the basis of five-year plans**. Within this period, Albania, the most backward country of Europe, has already been transformed from a primitive agrarian country into an agricultural-industrial country, and is marching with sure steps on the road of its transformation into an advanced industrial-agricultural country.

During the period of six five-year plans our people's economy, already fully socialist, has developed at high rates which it would be hard to find in any other country. In the 29 years from 1951 to 1979, the average annual rates of growth of our people's economy have been: 8.7 per cent for the total social product, 7.4 per cent for the national income, 12.4 per cent for total industrial production, 5 per cent for total agricultural production, 9.2 per cent for state investments. In 1979 as against 1978 total social product is expected to increase by more than 10 per cent, total industrial production above 9 per cent, total agricultural production above 12 per cent, and the national income above 15 per cent.

In 1960 Khrushchev declared that without the Soviet Union Albania would die of starvation. However, the facts show that during the 17-year period, 1961-1977, while the average annual rate of growth of total industrial production in Albania, without the aid of the Soviet Union, was 9 per cent, in the Comecon countries it was 8.7 per cent, in the West European countries — 3.8 per cent and in the United States of America —

4.5 per cent. And while during the 13 year-period, 1963-1976, total agricultural production in Albania grew at an average rate of 5.2 per cent, in the Comecon countries this figure was only 2.6 per cent, in the West European countries — 1.8 per cent, and in the United States of America — 2.2 per cent<sup>1</sup>

It is known that the annual rate of natural increase of the population in Albania is higher than in any other European country. It is known, too, that the ratio between the rise of the principal indices of material production and the natural growth of the population of a country also shows the trend of the development and the well-being of that country. From 1950 to this day, total social product in socialist Albania has increased 3.2 times more rapidly than the growth of the population, the national income has increased 2.7 times more rapidly, total industrial production 4.6 times, total agricultural production about 2 times etc. No Comecon country, nor any other capitalist country has had such a ratio of growth. **Even these few**

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1 The year 1963 is reckoned as annual average of the 5-year period, 1961-1965

**figures speak clearly of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.**

We have built up a complex multi-branched industry which is based on the natural resources and raw materials of the country. This new industry has now become the pillar of our economy, a powerful base for uninterrupted extended socialist reproduction.

Today in 1979 total industrial production is 125 times larger than in 1933 and about 5 times larger than in 1960 when the Khrushchevites predicted that we would go bankrupt! Unfortunately for them this did not occur. In 1979 compared with 1960, the coal industry has increased 4.6 times over, the chrome industry about 4.5 times over, the copper industry about 28 times over, etc.

Today we extract sufficient oil from our territory and have developed our oil industry to such a degree that we not only fulfill all the needs of the national economy for oil products, but also export some of them. From a country exporting only raw materials, as it was in the past, Albania has now reached

the stage that about 60 per cent of its exports consists of finished products.

Our industry today has powerful combines, such as the «Light of the Party» metallurgical complex at Elbasan, which turns out more than 50 kinds of steel from the iron-nickel ore and which will soon produce nickel, too; the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine which has begun to turn out tractors and trucks; the textile combines which meet all the needs of the country and also produce for export; food-processing combines, as well as hundreds of plants and factories, mines and industrial enterprises which set the tone for the whole people's economy.

Albania, which in the past knew only of the oil lamp, the candle and the pine torch as means of illumination, has now become the country of electric power. **Our electric power industry** today has a relatively powerful network of hydro-power stations which rank with the biggest hydro-power stations of Europe, such as the Vau i Dejës hydro-power station, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station in Fierza, etc. The Fierza station alone has an installed capacity of 500,000 kilowatt. It is one of the most powerful high-



dam hydro-power stations of Europe, and it was designed and built by our own engineers, specialists and workers. With the concrete, rock and earth that has gone into the construction of the dam and other projects of this hydro-power station, one could build a wall 3 metres high, 3 metres thick and about 1,000 kilometres long, which would girdle Albania along its entire land and sea border. Work has just begun on the construction of the Koman hydro-power station, which will be even more powerful than that of Fierza. Now our country ensures about 80 per cent of its needs for electric power from hydro-power sources and about 20 per cent from thermo-power stations. We not only fulfil all the needs of our country for electric power, but also export it.

Our mechanical engineering industry is in a position not only to ensure the maintenance of the existing machinery, meeting about 95 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts, but has been turned into a true **machine-building** industry, capable of building complete industrial plants and factories.

Sound foundations have been laid in our country for the rapid development of the

**chemical industry**, for the deep-processing of oil and gas, thus increasing their value, for the more extensive use of chemical methods in agriculture, and for ever better meeting the needs of the country for all kinds of chemical products. We meet all our requirements for chemical fertilizers with the production of our chemical plants.

Our new **consumer goods industry**, together with agriculture, has succeeded in meeting more than 85 per cent of the needs of the population for these goods.

The former Albania of the «Legend of Maize» has become today the country of **large-scale socialist agriculture**. Thanks to the new cooperativist order, the self-sacrificing toil of the working peasantry and the all-round assistance of the socialist state, our agriculture has made great progress and life in our countryside has been radically transformed.

Only about 15 per cent of the area of our Republic is lowland, whereas about 85 per cent of it is hilly or mountainous. And only 40 per cent of the cultivated land is plains, while 60 per cent of it is hilly or mountainous. However, socialism has been extended

not only to the plains, but also to the mountains. All our agriculture is socialist. The state sector accounts for about 25 per cent of total agricultural production, and the cooperativist sector for about 75 per cent of it.

Although we are a mountainous country, today our agriculture produces about 5 times more bread grain than before the war. Compared with 1960, agricultural production in 1979 is about 3 times greater. Now we produce all the bread grain we need in our own country, have ensured a steady increase in bread grain reserves and even export a little grain. Our agriculture also helps exports with its products. Apart from bread grain, all of which it produces, our agriculture meets 85 per cent of the needs of the population for other foodstuffs.

The state has made colossal investments, billions of leks, for draining all the swamps that once extended over most of the flat land of the country, and turning them into arable land, for opening up new land in the mountain zones, turning mountainsides into arable land, has set up a whole irrigation system so that today about 53 per cent of the arable land is under regular irrigation, and this

places Albania first in Europe in regard to the percentage of arable land under irrigation.

For purposes of drainage, flood protection and irrigation, over 32,000 km. of canals have been dug and more than 390 million cubic metres of earth have been moved by state enterprises alone, without reckoning the work done by the agricultural cooperatives themselves. The drainage system alone has a pumping capacity to shift 230 cubic metres of water per second, or as much as the summer flow of the Drin and Vjosa rivers taken together. This is a colossal work for a small country such as Albania.

Today our agriculture has a relatively powerful park of farm machinery at its disposal and industry supplies it with chemical fertilizers in considerable quantities so that today we use more than 145 kg. of active substance per hectare as against less than 3 kg. per hectare in 1950, as well as insecticides, pesticides, herbicides, etc.

Against the background of the grave food crisis which has many countries of the capitalist world in its grip and the successive failures suffered in the field of agriculture by the revisionist countries, which have become

the biggest grain importers in the world, the great successes achieved by our socialist agriculture stand out even more brilliantly.

Our socialist economy is an economy with firm stability and broad perspectives. It does not experience the incurable ills of capitalism, such as crises, inflation, price rises for goods, unemployment, etc.

Under the leadership of the Party, **Albania has become a completely free and sovereign country, fully independent also in the economic and military fields, which is building socialism relying only on its forces, without any aid or credits from abroad. Albania is the only country in the world without external or internal debts.** Our Constitution prohibits the granting of concessions, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or joint ventures with the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, monopolies and states, as well as accepting credits from them.

The formerly illiterate Albania has become the country of **mass education** today, where one in every 3-4 people attends school and education is free of charge for all. As

against only 380 cadres with higher training that Albania had in 1938, or 4,245 that it had in 1960, in 1978 it had more than 40,000 cadres of higher training; 8-year schooling is compulsory and secondary schooling is rapidly becoming universal. The culture and art of socialist realism are flourishing and have become the spiritual nourishment of our new man.

**A thorough-going ideological revolution** has been carried out over these 35 years and has radically transformed the spiritual life of our people. The Party, together with the masses, has waged a consistent struggle to root out old, backward customs, the religious, feudal and patriarchal ideology, the petty-bourgeois mentality and other ideological remnants alien to socialism. **Albania is the only country in the world which recognizes no religion** and supports and develops atheistic propaganda to imbue the people with the scientific materialist world-outlook, as is laid down in our Constitution. Our heroic youth, educated by the Party, have always been in the forefront of the struggle for the eradication of religious institutions and practices.

A whole revolution has been carried out in our country for the **emancipation of women**, to give them full rights, rights equal with men everywhere, in society and the family, at work and in education. In our country women work and militate in a worthy manner on all major fronts of the socialist construction and defence of the Homeland. Today women make up more than 46 per cent of the total number of working people actively engaged in the construction of socialism. In agriculture, and education and culture they account for about 52 per cent of the total number of working people in each of these two sectors, while they account for more than 79 per cent in the health service, more than 54 per cent in trade, etc. In our country one finds women and girls not only as ordinary workers and cooperativists, but also as managers and leaders in all the organs of the economy, the state, the Party, up to the Central Committee of the Party, the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

**The communist education**, which the Party carries out with the greatest care, has imbued our people with a new morality, with new, socialist features. **The creation of the**

**new man** represents the greatest victory of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for it is precisely our new man, with political and ideological clarity, loyal to the end to the line of the Party, devoted to the cause of socialism and the defence of the Homeland to the point of self-negation, that is **the guarantee to ensure the continuity of the construction of socialism in Albania**, to ensure that the tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere — the restoration of capitalism, will never be permitted to happen in our country, too, but that Albania will always advance, unrelentingly go forward on the road of socialism and communism, even in the most difficult conditions of encirclement and blockade.

Right from the outset, the people's power eliminated unemployment, which is an incurable ulcer inflicting misery and suffering on the working masses in the capitalist world, both bourgeois and revisionist. In our society, all able-bodied people participate in useful social work. Today at least 2-3 people of the average urban family of 4-5 members are in employment. The situation is the same in the countryside, too.



With us all kinds of direct taxation have been abolished, the health service is free of charge for all and has been extended to the remotest villages. In 1960 we had one doctor per every 3,360 inhabitants, while in 1978 we had one doctor per every 687 inhabitants, and this despite the rapid growth of the population. The natural increase of the population in our country is 3.5 times higher than the annual average of European countries, whereas mortality in 1978 was 37 per cent lower than the average level of mortality in the countries of Europe, and the average life expectancy in our country has risen, from about 38 years in 1938, to 69 years. That is, for each year of the existence of our people's state power, the average life expectancy has risen by about 11 months. That is what socialism does for man! Is there a loftier humanism than socialist humanism, which, in 35 years, doubles the average life expectancy of the whole population of a country?

Another great victory of the people's power, which shows the concern of the Party for man, is the establishment of **social insurance** and pensions for all the working people of town and countryside. Today about 70 per

**cent of the country's population lives in new houses and apartments** built since Liberation, and rents for state-owned dwellings in our country are very low, almost symbolic. When natural calamities, such as earthquakes and floods, occur, the cost of eliminating the damage is **met by the state**, as happened this year in the case of the April 15 earthquake.

During the years of the people's power not only has the **antagonistic contrast between the city and countryside been eliminated**, but important measures have been carried out which have appreciably reduced the former distinctions in their ways of life. The **electrification of all the villages** of Albania, the extension of a broad network of motor-roads and the telephone system to every village, besides the schools and cultural centres, health, trade and communal services, etc., are historic victories for our countryside.

Our socialist order has guaranteed our working people **favorable working conditions**, sanctioned in the Labour Code and by other laws in force, for which the working class in the world of capital is obliged to wage a fierce and uninterrupted struggle against the bourgeoisie and its savage exploitation, such

as: paid annual holidays and paid leave for the working people to attend part-time school, additional leave for those working in difficult sectors, prohibition of the employment of women and juveniles in heavy work injurious to their health, payment of workers in case of interruption of their work through no fault of theirs, 12-15 weeks paid maternity leave, etc. The state's defraying all expenditure for social and cultural measures in the countryside, the provision of pensions for cooperativists and, then, their unification with those of the working people of the city, **the increasing of the real per capita income in the countryside at higher rates than real per capita income in the city**, etc. — all this, along the all-round aid given by the state for the uninterrupted expansion of agricultural production and the strengthening of the co-operativist order, which constitutes the principal basis for raising the well-being of the peasantry, are the roads which have been and are being followed in our country to **continuously level out the distinctions between the countryside and the city**.

Socialist Albania today has not only an

independent and stable economy, but also a **powerful defence** which is in a position to cope with any external aggression, from whatever quarter in may come. Our armed people, educated by the Party according to the teachings of Lenin that **every citizen should be a soldier and every soldier a citizen**, by implementing the military line of the Party, our Military Art of People's War which is quite the opposite of the bourgeois and revisionist military art, are ready from every viewpoint to defend their freedom and the victories of socialism from any enemy and to turn their own territory at any time into an abyss in which any aggressor who might dare to attack us will crash to his death and be wiped out.

The magnificent successes and triumphs of socialist Albania, in these 35 years of freedom, independence and socialist construction, are a living testimony to the **correct line pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania for the construction and defence of socialism**. The historic importance of these magnificent victories emerges with special strength if we bear in mind that they have been achieved in the conditions of the greatest regressive turn ever known in the history of the in-

ternational communist and workers' movement, when for the first time in the history of the communist and workers' movement revisionism seized state power in Yugoslavia, with which we were allies during the war, when the dictatorship of the proletariat was overthrown and capitalism was restored in the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union, with which we were close allies, as well as in the other former socialist countries of Europe; when China, too, our former ally, sank deeper and deeper into capitalism, and when the former communist parties all over the world turned into revisionist, counterrevolutionary parties. And in these historically extremely difficult and tragic conditions, our **Party of Labour and the Albanian people, socialist Albania, withstood the furious onslaught of modern revisionism, the savage capitalist encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the world economic-financial crisis, clashed head-on with imperialism and revisionism and did not submit, but kept the banner of Marxism-Leninism flying high, unsullied and undaunted in Albania, achieving all these magnificent successes and victories.**

«The Albanian miracle», as the revol-

utionaries and admirers of Albania call it, is an experience without precedent in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a contribution of incalculable value to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of socialist construction, a great encouragement for the entire international communist and workers' movement and for all the peoples of the world.

The experience of socialist Albania demonstrates clearly to the revolutionaries and the peoples of the world that **not only in a big country, like the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, but also in a small country, like Albania, which inherited profound backwardness from the past and which is under hostile encirclement, it is completely possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism with success, to carry the revolution steadily forward in every field of life, to avoid any return to capitalism with complete success and to defend the Homeland, on the basis of self-reliance, provided that a genuine revolutionary party of the working class, like the Party of Labour of Albania, stands at the head, and provided**

**that it faithfully implements the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner.**

This is also the greatest historic contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to the great cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism in the present epoch. Our Party and people have won these positions with struggle, with blood and sweat, and will never relinquish them, but will always defend and strengthen them at all costs, at any time and under any circumstances, thus fulfilling their national and international duty as revolutionaries, builders of socialism.

## **THE LOYALTY OF THE PARTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM IS THE FOUNDATION STONE OF ALL THE SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE**

How can the fact be explained that in these past 35 years, while capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries of Europe

with the advent of revisionism to power, and while China is going deeper and deeper down the capitalist road, the **Party of Labour of Albania** «was not dislodged from its strong-point», as the people's song has it, but remained consistently Marxist-Leninist, and the catastrophe of the restoration of capitalism in Albania was avoided? How was it possible, on the one hand, that while the economic-financial crisis is wreaking havoc in the capitalist-revisionist world, where the chronic unemployment is growing worse, inflation is mounting at ever increasing rates, prices and the cost of living are going up relentlessly every year and every day, etc., on the other hand, in socialist Albania, during these 35 years, only growth, progress, development, and rising social production and standard of living of the people, have been recorded, prices have never gone up, but, on the contrary, several reductions of prices for consumer goods have been made, inflation remains unknown to our economy, there is no unemployment, and taxes have been abolished? How has it been possible that socialism could be built successfully in a single small country, under encirclement and block-



ade, in ceaseless ideological, political and economic struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and world reaction? These are legitimate questions which even our enemies ask, but to which all the revolutionaries and friends of Albania in the world are very interested in finding the precise answer.

In this great question of historic importance there is no secret at all. The truth is as clear as the light of day and this truth is the **existence and revolutionary activity of the Party of Labour of Albania**, which, among other things, is outstanding for three great qualities: its **profound political and ideological clarity and its always correct, Marxist-Leninist line**, which it puts into practice with consistency; the **steel unity** of the ranks of the Party and of the people around the Party; the **revolutionary courage** with which it fights heroically against enemies and difficulties, faces up to the dangers of life and forges steadily and **unrelentingly ahead guided only by Marxism-Leninism**.

The inspirer, organizer and architect of all our successes and victories in the revolution and the construction of socialism has

been, is, and always will be, the Party of Labour of Albania, founded and led through the storms of struggle and life by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At all moments and under any circumstances, from the 8th of November 1941, when it was founded in that humble little house in old Tirana, to this day, our glorious Party has always remained loyal to the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which it knew how to apply in a creative manner in the concrete conditions of our country, both in the years of the war for liberation and the seizure of power, and in the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism has always been the foundation of the thought and action of our Party throughout its entire existence. This has been, is, and always will be the foundation stone of all the successes and victories of our people: this explains everything.

Historical experience since the Second World War has proved that the party which, regardless of any threat, remains loyal to the end to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat, and the interests

of the people, as is the case with the Party of Labour of Albania — such a party is invincible, never suffers defeat, and, on its difficult but glorious road, achieves only victories; whereas with those parties which slip into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, as did the former communist parties in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere, the only possible outcome of their thought and action is betrayal of the cause of the revolution, their transformation into minions of the imperialist bourgeoisie, into a «Trojan Horse» to take the citadel from within in the countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, and to stop its establishment in those countries where the objective conditions for the revolution are maturing. This is the greatest historic lesson for the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the present-day.

Our Party has always remained a revolutionary party of the working class, because it knew how to form, preserve and ceaselessly strengthen the steel ideological, political and organizational **unity** of its ranks and has waged a merciless and principled struggle against any deviation and faction in

its ranks. It has never permitted, and does not permit, the formation and operation of two or more lines within its ranks, as the Communist Party of China does, but **follows only one line, its Marxist-Leninist line.**

If our Party had accepted the Mukje betrayal by Mustafa Gjinishi and Ymer Dishnica in 1943, it would have had to share power with the bourgeoisie, it would have become the grave-digger of its role as the vanguard of the working class, would have been turned into a servant of the bourgeoisie, and state power in Albania today would not be in the hands of the working class, but of the bourgeoisie, sold out to imperialism.

If, in October 1944, in the fierce struggle which was waged at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which met at that time in Berat, the group of Koçi Xoxe had won, a group which followed the directives of the envoy of the Yugoslav leadership, Velimir Stojnich, to overthrow the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, represented by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and to bring the agent of the Yugoslav revisionists, Koçi Xoxe, and his gang to the head of

our Party and state, Albania today would be nothing more than a poverty-stricken revisionist province of Federal Yugoslavia.

If, in 1944, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had not told the British: **«Get out of Saranda and don't set foot on our land, or you will be met with bullets!»,** the British army would have landed in Albania and there would have been no liberation for us on November 29, but occupation and servitude, imperialist colonialism instead, and the blood of our martyrs would have been shed in vain.

If, in 1946, the opportunist views of Sejfulla Malëshova had not been defeated and rejected, Albania might quite easily have taken the road of submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie, been transformed into a bourgeois state sold out to American, British, and Italian imperialism, and today there would have been no socialist Albania.

If, in 1947, Comrade Enver Hoxha had not told the Yugoslav leadership: **«Hands off Albania!»,** and had accepted Tito's request to station divisions of the Yugoslav army in Korça and Gjirokastra, under the pretext of defending Albania from the alleged Greek

threat», Albania would have been under military occupation by Yugoslavia since those days and another National Liberation War would have had to be fought in order to liberate ourselves from the new foreign yoke. And a little later, in 1948, if the most terrible faction in the leadership of the party, represented by the chief agent of the Yugoslav revisionists, Koçi Xoxe, and his gang, had not been defeated and liquidated, Albania would not exist today as a socialist country, but would be a miserable appendage of the Yugoslav state, where capitalism has been completely restored.

Had our Party listened to the defeatist views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, Albania would have remained without oil and fuels, would have gone bankrupt economically and under the domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

If, in 1960, our Party had not defeated the Khrushchevite agents in its ranks, like Liri Belishova and others, and had capitulated to the pressure and blackmail of Nikita Khrushchev and all his revisionist lackeys of Eastern Europe, and if in November of that year, at the Meeting of the 81 commun-

ist and workers' parties, the Georgyevsky Hall of the Kremlin had not resounded to the voice of the leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in defence of Lenin and Stalin, in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the Albanian people, against Khrushchevite revisionism, without being impressed in the least by the furious attacks of the most ferocious servants of the bourgeoisie, such as Gomulka of Poland and Dolores Ibarruri of Spain, who called us «madmen» and «Trotskyites», and who were followed by the revisionists of all the other parties: capitalism would have been restored in Albania today, just as in the Soviet Union. And if our Party had not told the Soviet militarymen at the Vlora base in 1961: «Get out of here, because Vlora is ours and will always remain ours, otherwise we shall train our guns on you!», Albania would have been a second Bulgaria today — a jumping-off point for the Soviet social-imperialist armies for invasion of the Balkans and Europe.

If our Party had not discovered and liquidated the putschist plot of Beqir Balluku and his gang, of Abdyl Këllezi and his gang, of these long-standing agents of certain re-

visionist countries, both adjacent and remote, the putschists and plotters would have done in Albania what the group of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping managed to do in China. And if our Party had submitted to the Chinese social-imperialist dictate and accepted «Mao Tsetung thought» in place of Marxism-Leninism, Albania today would have formed alliances with American imperialism, with imperialism in general, with the most ferocious fascist and reactionary forces in the world, just as the leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng is doing now, and socialism would have come to an end in our country.

But nothing of the kind happened. All these innumerable fiendish plots, traps and schemes of internal and external enemies were defeated by our Party, which triumphed over them, because it had that great political and ideological maturity which enabled it to tell black from white, had the unity of its ranks with the people and the revolutionary courage to fight and win, and refused to turn its back to run away from the enemy and the danger, but always turned to face them squarely, with its fists ready to



fight. It rode triumphant over those tempestuous waves because, at the head of our Party and state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his hand firmly on the helm, fearless, and his eyes fixed on the infallible compass of Marxism-Leninism, which never lead you astray, either in the dark of night or in the storm, stood the leader of the Party and the people, our dearly beloved comrade and teacher, Enver Hoxha.

The leading role of the Party in the whole life of the country is the decisive factor in every success and every victory. The leading role of the Party must always be undivided, both in the revolution and in the entire historical period of the construction of socialism and this role must be continuously strengthened.

Confronted to the revisionist preachings on «pluralist socialism», our Party has always consistently upheld the Marxist-Leninist view that the proletarian party must never share its leadership with other parties, because the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be established, cannot exist, cannot operate and be strengthened, except when at the head of its whole system stands a single par-

ty — the party of the working class, which relies on a single ideology — the ideology of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist ideology. There can be no other alternative on this vital question. Historical experience throughout the whole world and in our own country proves this.

The revisionist views and practices on the so-called independence of the state, the mass organizations and various sectors from the party of the working class, on putting the army or the Security service and other forces above the party, as has happened in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and the other countries where the revisionist cliques have come to power, have never found the road open to them in our country

The major historic victories achieved in our country in these 35 years are closely connected with the fact that here the Party has always kept the dictatorship of the proletariat strong, invincible and free from bureaucracy and liberalism, as the powerful weapon of the working class in defence of the triumphant proletarian revolution and for the construction of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is

an integral complex system, in which the state power is only one of the component elements of this system, the main lever of the Party, along with the other levers of the organizations of the masses. The Party of Labour, the only political force leading the state and society, as Article 3 of the Constitution of the Republic defines it, has always stood at the head of this system.

Our Party has exposed and refuted the counter-revolutionary revisionist preachings which negate the dictatorship of the proletariat because allegedly, with the liquidation of exploiting classes, with the construction of the economic base of socialism, the class struggle, also, comes to an end and, as a result, according to them, there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The aim of this revisionist thesis is to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with the so-called state of the whole people, which conceals the savage fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and the experience of our country proves concretely, that it is essential for the dictatorship of the

proletariat to exist, operate and be constantly improved and strengthened through the entire historical period of the construction of socialism, until communism, because during this whole period, the class struggle goes on, the danger of a return to capitalism exists, and this danger comes not only from external imperialist aggression, but also from internal revisionist degeneration.

The reality of our socialist society refutes the accusations and slanders of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda, which tries to present the dictatorship of the proletariat as a negation of democracy. The reality of our socialist society proves in practice the correctness of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat provides the only genuine democracy for the broad working masses. The freedom and democracy which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists demand is freedom and democracy for the overthrown exploiters and for the enemies of socialism, to enable them to act freely in order to undermine and overthrow the socialist order and restore capitalism. In our socialist society there is complete freedom and unlimited democracy **only for**

the people, only for the working masses, but not for the enemies of socialism and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology; the inexorable iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat falls upon them. The socialist democracy in action, which is flourishing in our country, is quite the opposite of the so-called bourgeois democracy, which, as Lenin said, remains always restricted, curtailed, false, hypocritical, paradise for the rich, a trap and a fraud for the exploited and the poor.

The participation of the masses in running the country and the further extension of this has always been seen by our Party as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a major motive force and one of the decisive factors to drive the revolution and the construction of socialism ahead at rapid rates, to defend and guarantee our state and society from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. **The worker and peasant control**, organized by the Party according to the teachings of Lenin, also, serves this aim.

The Party, as the only political and ideological leading force of the country, has fought and fights to keep our state and its

own ranks free from the dangerous disease of liberal and bureaucratic degeneration. **Liberalism**, which is an expression of political and ideological opportunism, which leads to renunciation of consistent class struggle, to departure from the principles of scientific socialism, to opportunist stands and indifference towards alien manifestations and influences, as well as towards weaknesses and shortcomings at work, has been and is consistently combated by our Party. As the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party in June 1973 pointed out, the facts prove that the main aim of the class enemy in the present conditions to bring about the degeneration of the socialist order, the internal and foreign policy of our state and Party, is to encourage liberalism over the whole front.

Therefore, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, as one of the most important directions of the class struggle in socialism, remains one of the fundamental and constant tasks of the Party, the state and social organizations, of all the working people, to safeguard the Party, the dictatorship of the

proletariat and our socialist society from bourgeois revisionist degeneration.

Historical experience, from the Commune of Paris to socialist Albania, has proved that a strong and stable dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without the liquidation of the old army of the exploiting classes and without the creation of the people's armed forces. This major question of vital importance for the fate of socialism has always been at the centre of the attention of our Party. It created our system of people's defence based on Marxist-Leninist military science, with the methods of People's War. The people, armed and militarily trained, the leadership of the Party in the whole system of the Armed Forces and defence, the Party in command, permanent fighting readiness to cope with even the most difficult situation — are the basic elements which guarantee the security of our socialist Homeland from any external military aggression.

Our fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept on the question of defence, too, is reliance on our own forces, on the internal factor, on the armed people, on the mass heroism of the people and the leadership of the

Party. That is why our defence is impregnable.

During these 35 years the unity of our people has been placed on a new class basis, has been raised to a higher level. This Party-people unity is founded on the alliance of two friendly classes — the working class and the co-operativist peasantry. This unity, which constitutes a major driving force of our society without which nothing can be achieved and with which even «the heavens can be stormed», is safeguarded and strengthened through waging the class struggle correctly and consistently against internal and external enemies and against those negative phenomena and alien manifestations which endanger it.

One of the main methods which the Party employs to link itself with the masses, to strengthen their confidence in the correctness of the line of the Party and to mobilize them is speaking to masses openly, telling them the truth as it is, without concealing the difficulties from them. Therefore, in the construction of socialism, just as in the time of the war, upon the word of the Party the masses of the people are ready to throw



themselves into the fire; that is why the people sing, «When Enver speaks and the Party decides, all Albania rises to its feet!».

Proceeding from the Leninist teachings that it is easier to seize power than to hold it, that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean cessation of the class struggle but continuation of it in new forms, during these 35 years our Party has consistently waged the class struggle, and in this field it has accumulated a wealth of experience of vital importance for the fate of socialism.

The revolutionary experience of socialist Albania during these 35 years, which has been summed up scientifically in the documents of our Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, shows that the class struggle, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «...is an objective phenomenon, is the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism...»\* not just

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\* E. Hoxha, «Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA», p. 128, Alb. ed.

**while the exploiting classes continue to exist as such but also after their liquidation, up to communism.**

During the whole historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, the general aim of the class struggle is to resolve the fundamental contradiction in socialism, which is the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road, to ensure the complete and final victory of socialism and communism, which, as Lenin has said, is achieved through an "...exceptionally stern class struggle in extremely severe forms...»\*.

The revisionists negate the class struggle in order to restore capitalism. The class struggle is an objective law and the main driving force in socialist society, too, until the complete and final triumph of socialism on a national and international scale. The class enemy and its hostile ideology are always active. There can be no gaps in the class struggle: wherever we retreat, the enemy fills the gap, both in the political and ideological spheres, and in the economic and

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 488, Alb. ed.

military spheres and any other sphere of life. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and our experience in the construction of socialism confirms it.

The class struggle goes on ceaselessly, with its zigzags and ups and downs, according to circumstances, **even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such**, not only against the external enemies and the all-round corrupting pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world which surrounds us, but also against the internal enemies — the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes and the new hostile elements which emerge from the ranks of our society; at the same time, it is also waged in the ranks of the people and the Party itself, against all influences of alien ideologies inherited from the past, or the present-day bourgeois-revisionist ideologies.

Our Party has always waged the class struggle correctly and consistently on all fronts, while avoiding and eradicating any opportunist stand of toning it down, or any extremist and sectarian stand of exacerbating it artificially. The worst example of toning down the class struggle on an opportun-

ist course is the revisionist liberalism which has emerged in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and the other countries where the revisionists are in power, while the worst example of exacerbating the class struggle in an artificial and extremist manner is the Chinese cultural revolution guided by «Mao Tse-tung thought», while the most monstrous and criminal example of its exacerbation is the mass slaughter of the Cambodian people by the Pol Pot fascist clique, an ally and lackey of the Chinese revisionist leadership.

The great historic victories which our people enjoy today are due to the implementation of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party for the construction of socialism in the economic, social and cultural fields. Without a correct economic, social and cultural policy and without the consistent implementation of this line, those major victories which today enable socialist Albania to challenge the entire bourgeois-revisionist world, in all fields of life, would not have been achieved.

The transition of our country from a state of technical-economic and semi-feudal backwardness directly to the construction

of socialism, skipping the stage of developed industrial capitalism, would not have been possible without the **socialist industrialization** and electrification of the country. First the Yugoslav revisionists, right after liberation, later the Khrushchev revisionist clique, and later still the Chou En-lai group, exerted great pressure on our Party and people, insisting that Albania should develop only as an agricultural country and should not set out to build up industry allegedly because this was beyond its strength and possibilities. Had our Party listened to the advice of these champions of revisionism Albania would never have been industrialized. industrial production would not have become the leading factor in extended socialist reproduction it is today and would not account for about 65 per cent of overall industrial and agricultural output taken together. Albania would have remained a backward agrarian country. But our Party overcame these obstacles and consistently pursued the course of the socialist industrialization of the country.

In the development of industry the policy of our Party has been and is aimed at **creating a multi-branched industry**, based on advanced

equipment and technology and a stable internal base of raw materials, capable of ensuring an ever more complete and rational utilization, with maximum economic effectiveness, of **the country's natural resources**, fulfilling the principal needs of all branches of the people's economy, constantly raising the well-being of the people, and strengthening the defence potential of the country.

On the question of the industrialization, our Party has faithfully applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on **the priority development of heavy industry**. Therefore, despite the evident and continuous growth of production of means of consumption during the 6 five-year plans, whereas in 1950 the production of the means of production accounted for about 52 per cent and the production of consumer goods about 48 per cent of overall production, in 1979 the production of the means of production accounts for 65 per cent and that of consumer goods about 35 per cent of the total industrial production of the country.

Our Party had to face up to terrible pressures from the Soviet revisionists who tried to reduce our country to a mere pro-

ducer of raw materials, which would be processed abroad, in the revisionist «metropolises». The Khrushchevites went so far in their sabotage as to conceal from us the oil reserves they had discovered here, in order to keep us under their domination. But we found the oil for ourselves and now we are oil exporters.

Our Party rejected as unacceptable the attempts of Chou En-lai and his group, based on Mao Tsetung thought, to give priority not to heavy industry, to production of the means of production, but to light industry and agriculture. Had we accepted their revisionist theses, this would have been catastrophic for us. The construction of our projects of heavy industry with China's aid was achieved through an incessant, fierce, blow-for-blow struggle between our leadership and the Chinese leadership.

The policy which our Party and our socialist state have pursued and implemented with great persistence has always been aimed at the harmonious development of both the extracting and the processing industries, with the principal orientation towards the full cycle of the transformation of natural resources into finished products.

While being orientated towards the socialist industrialization of the country our Party has never underestimated agriculture, which still remains the basis of our people's economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «Our Party adheres to the line that we must have not only a developed industry but also an advanced agriculture, that for our economy to be powerful and independent it must be based firmly on both feet: industry and agriculture.»\*

Today, our agriculture is able to fully meet the needs of the people for bread grain, meat, milk, fruit, vegetables and eggs, as well as to cover about 80 per cent of the raw materials needed by the foreign weaving and light industries as well as 10 per cent of the value of exports from material agricultural products.

Our Party never allowed our agriculture to develop in a one-sided way, as the Yugoslav revisionists wanted to impose on us at the beginning, so that we would produce only olives and sunflower while «as to the bread, the Yugoslavs would secure it for us from

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\* E. Hoxha, «Report Submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA», p. 57, Alb. ed.



the maize which would be planted and harvested in Backa and Banat»!; or, as Nikita Khrushchev wanted to impose on us, when he «advised» us to produce «only fruit and oranges» to export to the Soviet Union, while «as to wheat, Khrushchev would send it to us from the fields of Kazakhstan» at a time when the wheat sown in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan sprouts and is harvested in America, Canada, Australia and Argentina! It is precisely the Khrushchevite revisionist agricultural policy which has transformed the Soviet Union into the biggest importer of bread grain, although the Soviet Union is a powerful industrial state covering one sixth of the earth's surface! When it came to saving, «Our roads part here, we can no longer be friends», because the Khrushchevites continued on their course to the right while we continued our Marxist-Leninist road straight towards socialism, the refusal of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique to supply us with wheat, even if we paid for it with the gold from our State Treasury, was a clear proof of how vital and salutary was the orientation of our Party for the produc-

**tion of our bread grain within the country, at all costs.**

But the priority which our Party and state have given to the production of bread grain not only does not exclude but, on the contrary, absolutely demands the **complex and harmonious development of agriculture on a broad front**: the development of the **livestock farming and fruit growing** along with the development of field crops; the development of **industrial crops** along with bread grain; the development of **forests** along with the whole of agriculture; the development of agriculture not only on the plains but also on the hills and mountains. At the 5th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha stated, «We must take to the hills and mountains and make them as beautiful and fertile as the plains». And this task has been carried out excellently by our peasantry and youth.

The Party has pursued a policy of keeping the peasantry in the countryside in order to prevent the depopulation of the village, such as goes on in the capitalist countries, both bourgeois and revisionist, where the countryside is abandoned and the peasantry flocks to the cities, adding to the army of the

unemployed. In Albania the peasant population increases every year in absolute figures and the drawing of the labour force from the countryside for the city is done in a planned and controlled manner and not in a spontaneous and anarchic manner. Apart from this, the policy of the Party on the territorial distribution of industry has made it possible for industry to be extended to every district without exception, to be also extended to the countryside especially the mining, oil, light and food-processing, and timber industries, in which part of the peasantry is working, thus bringing about **the socialist combination of industry with agriculture**, the industrialization of the countryside, the gradual narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture.

The construction of the material-technical base of socialism, especially in a country like Albania which inherited from the past a terrible backwardness in the development of productive forces, is inseparable from the ceaseless development of a deep-going technical-scientific revolution as a constituent part of the socialist revolution, in order to

put into practice the principle of self-reliance for the construction of socialism in the technical and scientific field, too. In our country the **technical-scientific revolution** is carried out according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. It includes virtually all the cadres of different levels as well as the working masses. We are not against the purchase of advanced technology from other countries, indeed, we consider this a necessity. At the same time, however, we work for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution relying on our own forces.

The people's economy in our country, as a genuine socialist economy, is developed and run in a planned and proportional manner on the basis of the **fundamental principle of democratic centralism** and thorough knowledge and correct application of the **objective economic laws of socialism**, in a continuous struggle both against manifestations of empiricism and superficiality and against voluntarism and subjectivism.

Our Party has worked to ensure the **complete economic independence of the country**. Now this independence has been fully secured. This is truly a second liberation for our peo-

ple. Now, our exports fully cover all our imports. This in no way means autarky, as those with evil aims towards Albania accuse us. With economic independence our Party understands: ensuring our extended socialist reproduction with our own internal accumulation. Whereas in the period of the 1st five-year plan, 1951-1955, the level of accumulation was 25.6 per cent, in 1979, when we received no aid at all from abroad, the level of accumulation went up to 31 per cent, and for 1980 it is envisaged to be 33 per cent. Parallel with this, consumption of food stuffs and industrial goods per head of population has steadily increased. With economic independence our Party also understands securing the commodities necessary for the livelihood of the people and the continuous raising of their well-being, ensuring employment for all the active population and foreign trade with exports able to cover all the needs for imports with our own forces. All these objectives have been successfully achieved thanks to the correct economic policy of our Party and state.

The Party of Labour of Albania and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat have attached primary importance to the

**socialist relations of production** and, within this context, to the **relations of distribution**. In our policy of distribution we have consistently applied the Marxist-Leninist principle, **«From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work»**, allowing no distortion whatsoever of this principle, unlike the modern revisionists who have turned this great principle upside-down. In the field of distribution, our Party and state have consistently implemented a profoundly revolutionary policy the aim of which is: the ceaseless raising of the well-being of the people; encouragement of creative initiative, correct stimulation of socialist and communist work, giving priority to moral incentives over material incentives; strengthening the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and strengthening the unity of all strata of our society; reduction of the distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour; preventing the creation of privileged strata and categories, which paves the way to bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. The three reductions in the high salaries of officials, bringing them to a ratio of 1:2 as against the average pay of

workers, is a profoundly revolutionary and effective measure, sanctioned by law, to avoid the danger of the bourgeois degeneration of cadres, while not falling into the positions of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism. Whereas in the capitalist, both bourgeois and revisionist, countries the ratio is 1:30, or even more.

Right now, in the phase of the construction of socialism, the Party has given attention to the gradual introduction of **elements of communist distribution** in the relations of distribution in accord with the possibilities of the state, such as education free of charge for all, the health service also free of charge for all, the part of the expenditure which is defrayed by the state for kindergartens and creches for children, the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake, with the state meeting all expenditure for the citizens, etc., all this taken together makes up a fund of social consumption equal to over 15 per cent of the people's consumption.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government keep firm control of the prices policy in order to prevent anarchy, price rises and disproportions in prices, speculation, competition and inflation. In our country

prices are unified over the whole Republic, irrespective of the distance the commodity travels from the producer to the consumer. Likewise, the state plans and exercises strict control over the labour force, the wages fund, the increase of the productivity of labour and reduction of cost of production, exports and imports, the circulation of money, etc. Therefore, all paths are barred to crises, unemployment, inflation and price rises in our country, such as occur in the capitalist countries, both bourgeois and revisionist.

The Party has always kept the **communist education** of the people at the centre of its attention. The aim of the Party has always been to educate the working people with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, with the spirit of socialist patriotism, with love for work and readiness to protect common property, with the spirit of socialist collectivism and solidarity with the norms of communist morality. The Party has always worked to bring about that all our people **think, work, fight and live as revolutionaries**, always placing the general interests of society, the people and socialism above everything. This question in particular, whether you put the general in-



terests of society, the people and socialism, or narrow personal and familiar interests first, determines the demarcation line between the two roads — the socialist road, on the one hand, and the capitalist road, on the other hand; this is precisely the starting-point of the dividing line between revolution and counter-revolution in the consciousness of each individual. Comrade Enver Hoxha says «... the feeling of private property and the placing of self-interest above the general interest constitute that hotbed in which bourgeois degeneration, revisionist and capitulationist concepts are bred and nurtured».\*

The participation of cadres for one month every year in physical labour, like the workers and cooperativists, is an important measure for the communist education of the cadres, to link and merge them with the masses and reduce the distinctions between mental and physical labour. The method of actions of the youth, especially in building railways, has become a permanent method of communist education, because there the youth carry out concrete communist work.

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\* E. Hoxha, «Report Submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA», p. 136, Alb. ed.

The measures taken for the **further revolutionization of the school** also comprise a component part of the struggle to carry forward the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. The implementation of our educational system, based entirely on the teachings of Marx on communist education, for **the correct combination of lessons with productive labour and physical and military training**, is of extraordinary importance for the education of the younger generation — loyal carrier of the revolutionary torch.

Our Party has worked and is working for a truly revolutionary **culture and art** which is permeated by proletarian partisanship and which reflects the dynamic development of our society correctly and realistically, according to the method of **socialist realism**. In our country socialist art and culture are in full bloom. Our writers and artists educated by the Party, loyal to the end to the cause of the revolution and serving the people, have become the worthy auxiliaries of the Party for the education of the people, «engineers» of the human spirit.

In broad outline, such is the historic experience of our Party and country in the

construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The importance of this experience goes beyond the borders of our Homeland: it is a contribution by our Party and people to the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, it is Marxism-Leninism in action in the concrete conditions of Albania, in the concrete conditions of the present epoch. By following this road, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our people have always emerged triumphant from every confrontation and clash with the enemies, have overcome every obstacle and difficulty, and have now arrived at the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland with a magnificent balance of successes and victories. But this does not make us conceited. While summing up the balance-sheet of 35 years of unprecedented struggle for the construction of socialism against all internal and external enemies, our Party and people set themselves the task of **continuing this glorious course with even greater determination** because this course, the course which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha show us, is the **only correct course** to escape from and overcome the dangers, and

which leads to the highest peaks of socialism and communism. The revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world can be sure that the banner of Marxism-Leninism will never be hauled down in Albania, as occurred in the revisionist countries, but will always be kept aloft, unsullied, indomitable, in the strong hands of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, and so will this banner be handed on from generation to generation.

## **A PRINCIPLED FOREIGN POLICY, IN DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE HOMELAND AND THE CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORLD**

Comrades,

The brilliant reality existing today in our country presents a picture completely different and in total contrast to the situation in the capitalist-revisionist world, which is in a process of continuous decline and disintegration. Cyclic development has always been and still is the fundamental characteristic of the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist econ-

omy. In its proportions, intensity, destructive force, and the duration of the depression phase and its cycle, the crisis of the 70's is no less intense than the world economic crisis of the 1929-1933 period, and in some indices, is even more profound.

The crisis of the 70's became apparent with a marked decline of production in all the branches of the capitalist economy, with the mass bankruptcy of enterprises and banking institutions, with the chronic under-utilization of productive capacities growing worse, with the increase of the number of unemployed, inflation and unprecedented price rises. Suffice it to mention that in 1979, as against 1963, the general index of prices for consumer goods reached 228.6 per cent in the United States of America, 383.9 percent in Britain, 187.1 percent in West Germany, 367.7 percent in Italy, etc. Continual increases over a wide range of prices have been made in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and all the Comecon member countries, too. Likewise, revisionist China is caught up in the unrestrainable rise in prices of consumer goods. Consumer goods are rising in price everywhere, except in one country - the People's

Socialist Republic of Albania, where prices have never gone up, but have been reduced or have remained at their previous levels.

The present world crisis is accompanied by a considerable increase in unemployment, which, according to official figures, amounts to 110 million people, while in fact, the unemployed number scores of millions more than this.

In face of such a situation, the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie is striving to load the burden of this economic crisis on to the shoulders of the proletariat and the other working masses, through continual increases of prices, inflation, taxes, wage-freeze, etc. In order to restrain the present crisis and to save themselves from catastrophe, the imperialist powers are employing the most diversified forms and methods; they are doing their utmost to export this crisis to other countries, where they are intensifying the plunder of national assets and their neo-colonialist exploitation with each passing day.

The export of capital from the developed capitalist countries has now assumed unprecedented proportions. Of the total sum of exported capital, more than half belongs to

the United States of America. In 1978, as compared with 1977, the export of capital from the United States of America grew by more than 20 per cent. At the end of 1975, the direct investments by the United States of America in the other countries of the world reached the figure of 133 billion dollars, as compared with about 75 billion dollars in 1970.

The scale of the exploitation and plunder of the other peoples by American imperialism is also proved by the fact that the rate of profit on direct investments of American capital in other countries, according to the bulletin of the Treasury Department of the United States of America, was 12 per cent in the industrialized countries and over 25 per cent, that is, more than double, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. From the investments of capital in Africa alone, from 1950 to 1978, the U.S. monopolies have drawn profits each year three times greater than the annual increase of direct investments in these countries and about 6 times the net income ensured from the new investment of American capital. All this proves what Comrade Enver Hoxha said in «Impe-

rialism and the Revolution», that «. US imperialism has not been weakened in the least, despite what the Chinese revisionists pretend».\*

Soviet social-imperialism, too, has become an exporter of capital, amounting to scores of billions of rubles, to 75 countries of the world. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have become the biggest exporters of weapons in the world. On the other hand, the deepening of the process of the integration of the economy of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries into the world capitalist system, can be seen. Thus, apart from anything else, in 1977, the Comecon member countries had debts to the western capitalist countries totalling more than 53 billion dollars, while over the last two years, this figure has increased even more. Revisionist China, too, has set out on this road at a gallop.

The imperialist powers, and first and foremost, the superpowers, are engaged in fe-

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\* F. Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution» p. 105, Alb. ed.



verish expansionist and hegemonic activity. To this end, they are intensifying their armaments race and their preparations for war, as well as their aggressive activity, hatching up plots to hurl the various peoples and countries into war against one another, to create conflicts and disturbances in various regions of the globe with the aim of exploiting them to strengthen their own positions and to extend their expansion.

The two imperialist superpowers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have been and still are the biggest enemies of the freedom and independence of the sovereign and freedom-loving peoples and states. Neither their demagogical slogans about the «lowering of tension», «peaceful co-existence» and «the policy of the balance of forces», etc., nor their great fuss about the SALT agreements and the talks «on the reduction of military forces» armaments, etc., can camouflaged their aggressive and expansionist aims in the eyes of the peoples.

Since the Second World War the tension in Europe and the world has never been so acute as it is today. Suffice it to mention the fact that today 3-4 times more military forces

are kept in **permanent military readiness** in the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries than there were in these same countries on the eve of the Second World War, while the fire power of these forces, if we take into consideration their arsenals of mass extermination weapons, is hundreds and thousands of times greater than on the eve of the Second World War. The standing armies of each of these two aggressive blocs are capable of attacking any place in Europe without first carrying out a general mobilization. Then, how can one speak of reduction of the tension in Europe? Do those thousands of U.S. military bases and the presence and manoeuvres of the U.S. and Soviet naval fleets in all the oceans and seas, speak of peace or war?

The existing grave and threatening situation, which has been created everywhere in the world by the United States of America and the Soviet Union and their aggressive military alliances, becomes still graver now that China has openly emerged in the international arena with its aims to become a superpower. The new Sino-American alliance and the unbridled aggressive, expansionist and warmongering activity of the Chinese social-

imperialists in various areas of the world constitute a new and serious danger to the fates of the freedom loving peoples and countries and are increasing the elements of insecurity in the world even more

With its clumsy and unoriginal policy, socialimperialist China is seeking to gain time to strengthen itself economically and militarily and to provoke the third world war between the two other superpowers. Hua Kuo-feng visited the four big capitalist countries of Europe with two definite aims: to beg and to deceive. In regard to the former aim, the result is that he came to Europe to «fill his sack, but he failed to get even a pocketful»! In regard to the latter aim of Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Europe, that is, to deceive and persuade the old Europe to hurl itself into war against Soviet social-imperialism, to unleash the third world war in Europe so that revisionist China can warm its hands at this fire from a safe distance and, finally, take the «big slice» here Hua Kuo-feng came out «shaven and shorn»: the bourgeoisie of old Europe itself has long been practising these manouvres towards others'

The current international situation testifies to the great dangers which are threatening the freedom, independence and the free and independent development of the peoples, peace and security in the world today. Despite this, war is not inevitable. As Stalin said, peace can be preserved and strengthened, provided the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their own hands, and carry it through to the end. And Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, if war breaks out, despite the efforts to avoid it, then the duty of revolutionaries and the peoples is to turn the imperialist war into a liberation war.

An undeniable conclusion is that the hatred of the peoples for the three superpowers and all the other enemies is building up powerfully day by day. Today the proletariat and the peoples are engaged in struggle against their external and internal enemies, against their oppressors and exploiters in different forms and various ways. They are becoming ever more conscious that their rights, freedom and independence and vital interests can be won and defended only by resolutely opposing the policy of aggression, expansion

and hegemony of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism and other imperialist powers and reactionary regimes and cliques, which have placed themselves at the service of the imperialist powers and monopolies.

In the course of this struggle, the new Marxist-Leninist parties on all continents, which are fighting to place themselves at the head of the working class and the working masses and to lead them in the revolutionary and liberation battles, are gradually but surely growing and becoming stronger.

The growing impetus of the anti-imperialist struggle was once more confirmed by the people's uprising in Iran, by the determination and courage of the broad masses of the Iranian people who threw themselves into struggle, shed their blood and put an end to the corrupt and tyrannical feudal regime of the Shah, this hangman of the Iranian people who had become the gendarme in the pay of American imperialism in the oil-rich area of the Middle East.

The events in Iran shook and seriously worried the imperialist world, not only because they were a heavy blow to the econ-

omic interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but, first of all, because the imperialist bourgeoisie is extremely terrified that the flames of the people's war may spread to other regions of great economic and strategic importance. The Albanian people greatly rejoice over the historic victory of the Iranian people and wish them success in the defence of their independence from the superpowers and progress in their national life.

Today, all the blows of the imperialists, social-imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries are aimed precisely at the Arab peoples, at their common cause — the Palestinian cause. To this end, recently American imperialism has intensified its efforts to deepen the division between Arab countries, to set them against one another and, above all, to finally liquidate the just cause of the Palestinian people. The Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty are the direct outcome of this conspiratorial activity.

Irrespective of different tactics and manoeuvres they employ, both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists nurture the same hegemonic aims — the esta-

blishment of their domination in the rich and strategic region of the Middle East.

The Albanian people unreservedly support the just cause of the Arab peoples. We are confident that the fraternal Arab peoples will strengthen the unity of their ranks and will carry forward their struggle for the complete realization of their lofty national aspirations, and that, in the final account, the sacred cause of the Palestinian people will triumph.

We notice with satisfaction the efforts being made at present by the African peoples to free themselves from the colonial and neo-colonial domination and to embark on the road of independent economic, social and cultural development. In order to keep the peoples of Africa under their domination, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the other imperialist powers have intensified their interference in the internal affairs of these long-suffering peoples and are striving with all their might and means to restrain and extinguish the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa. The Chinese social-imperialists, who have now come out in support of the most reactionary and fascist regimes of the African continent, in support of the interests of Ame-

rican imperialism and the former colonial powers, are pursuing this same course.

The Albanian people and their Government unreservedly support the just struggle of the African peoples for their liberation and emancipation. We will always be in solidarity with and resolutely support the just liberation struggle being waged today by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against the detestable fascist, racist system of apartheid, against the plans and plots of the imperialists and social-imperialists.

A complicated and explosive situation exists on the Latin-American continent too. The capitalist monopolies, first and foremost the American monopolies, have implanted their claws deep in the economies of these countries and through the ever greater exploitation of the rich resources, labour power, sweat and blood of the Latin-American peoples, are drawing fabulous profits. It has become a common phenomenon in Latin America that, whenever a revolutionary situation is created in this or that country and the interests and positions of the American monopolies are threatened, the United States of



America sets in motion the CIA and the Department of State to organize military putsches and to bring fascist military dictatorships to power, as it did in Chile and, recently in Salvador. Camouflaging themselves under the slogan of «proletarian internationalism», the Soviet revisionists are also interfering unscrupulously and carrying on their imperialist expansion in the Latin-American countries. Meanwhile, the Chinese revisionists are leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to link themselves as closely as possible with the fascist cliques, such as that of Pinochet, in Latin America.

But the peoples of Latin America, who are known for their revolutionary traditions, are more and more embracing the idea of the revolution and becoming ever more conscious that full national independence, freedom, democracy and socialism can be achieved only on the revolutionary road, through the armed struggle. Freedom is neither begged for, nor donated, but is won at the cost of blood. The heroic peoples of Latin America are aware of this and they are advancing on this road. The most vivid testimony to this truth is the overthrow of fascism in Nicaragua

through the Sandinista people's uprising. We hope that the heroic people of Nicaragua will be able to safeguard their historic victory from the superpowers and carry their victorious revolution through to the end. We support this revolutionary road because we, too, have traversed the road of the armed uprising and triumphed and we know that no other road can lead to freedom and independence.

The fierce rivalry between the two imperialist superpowers over the division and redivision of markets and spheres of influence has become very dangerous also in Asia, especially in South-East Asia. A grave situation of tension and war has been created there. With their perfidious aggression against Vietnam and their intensive preparations for military intervention in the countries of Indochina, the Chinese social-imperialists came out openly with the policy of great-state chauvinism and hegemony of a superpower.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people and their Government forcefully condemn the barbarous aggression against Vietnam and the all-round plotting and aggressive activity of Chinese social-

imperialism in South-East Asia, just as they condemn any kind of aggression of one state against another. As sincere friends of the peoples of Indochina, we have always pointed out the dangers that American-Soviet-Chinese activity and rivalry for hegemony and domination in Asia and throughout the Pacific basin pose to the destinies of these peoples, to international peace and security.

The present situation and the development of events in the world confirm the profound Marxist-Leninist analyses that Comrade Enver Hoxha has always made of international situations and the conclusions he has drawn, especially in his major work, **«Imperialism and the Revolution»**, which is a powerful weapon for all the communists and the revolutionaries and which assists them to understand the concrete events and situations correctly, illuminates the road of the struggle against imperialism and capital, reaction and revisionism, and strengthens their confidence in the triumph of the proletariat and the peoples, the revolution and socialism.

During these 35 years, under the leader-

ship of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, socialist Albania has pursued a determined, correct, principled and independent foreign policy. The foreign policy of our sovereign state has defended and will defend the lofty interests of our socialist Homeland and has served and will always loyally serve the cause of the revolution and peoples' liberation.

Those who think that Albania will change course, that it might deviate towards the East or the West, because China cut off all aid and credits are gravely mistaken. Socialist Albania has never deviated from its correct Marxist-Leninist course in its foreign policy or its internal policy. It is the others who have changed their course, heading to the right, always to the right, to revisionism and capitalism.

When the Party of Labour of Albania says that it is building socialism relying on the forces of the Albanian people, this means that **Albania will never hold out its hand to anybody, to any capitalist or revisionist country, to beg for charity and credits.** We shall manage with what we have, shall cut our coat according to the cloth, as the saying

goes. Now we have all the material and other conditions to forge ahead at relatively high rates, relying entirely on our own material resources. No gap has existed, exists or ever will exist in socialist Albania to be filled by the capitalist countries, either bourgeois or revisionist.

Our Party has a wealth of historical experience. We have overcome many plots. We are well aware of the aims of the imperialists and revisionists and will never fall into their clutches. Our Party has drawn very profound lessons and conclusions from the Yugoslav tragedy, from the Soviet tragedy, from the Chinese tragedy, and has a thorough knowledge of the imperialist tragedy, too. **Neither the present generations, nor the future generations will ever fall into the traps of the imperialists and revisionists. They will never change the course they embarked on on November 29, 1944, which they had begun on November 8, 1941, the basis of which has been set out by the founder and leader of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, and which the entire Party and the whole people have approved and implemented. What history has confirmed up to date about social-**

**ist Albania, it will confirm in the future, too, generation after generation.**

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people want to live in peace and friendship with other peoples and countries. We have never been isolated. Our country maintains diplomatic relations with 84 states and conducts trade with scores upon scores of states and hundreds upon hundreds of commercial firms the world over. Socialist Albania has numerous friends everywhere in the world and the prestige of our Party and country in the international arena has never been so high as it is today.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is in favour of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations on the basis of the known principles of equality, sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual benefit with those states with which it does not have such relations today, irrespective of the differences in social orders. But, as has been made clear at other times, too, we will establish no relations at all with the two superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, nor with any individual state in which fascists

or racists are ruling, as in South Africa. As for diplomatic relations with Great Britain and the Federal German Republic, this can be discussed only when these countries have discharged the known material obligations they have to Albania.

The Albanian people and their Government have made every effort to develop normal and friendly relations with the neighbouring peoples and states, towards which we have always pursued a policy of good neighbourliness. These relations with the neighbour states are proceeding well and we are for continuous development of them. We Albanians have always wanted to live in friendship with these peoples. On many occasions, over a long period, our Party and Government have stated that no evil will ever come to the neighbour countries from our territory, in the future, just as this has never happened in the past. **The establishment of foreign military bases and forces on the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited** and the Albanian people have sanctioned this clear-cut stand in their fundamental law — the Constitution of our socialist country.

Comrades,

This, briefly, is the road socialist Albania has traversed over these 35 years. The successes are magnificent. But the victories that await us in the future will be still greater and more brilliant. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always shown us this road. The Albanian people will be eternally grateful to the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha for everything they have done and will do in defence of the lofty interests of the Albanian people, socialism, Marxism-Leninism, the revolution.

We consider the construction and defence of socialism in Albania not only as our national revolutionary duty, but also as our duty towards the world proletariat and the peoples of the world. Our Party and people will go all out, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, to always be up to our national and international revolutionary duties, as worthy soldiers of the revolution in the front-line of the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, against revisionism and reaction, in defence of Marxism-



**Leninism and for its complete and final triumph in Albania and throughout the world.**

Let us mobilize all our energies and forces and spare nothing, even our lives if need be, to forge constantly ahead on the glorious road of the construction of socialism and communism, illuminated by the precepts of our great and immortal teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the Albanian people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!

Long live the organizer of all the victories, and the glorious and heroic leadership of our people, the Party of Labour of Albania!

May the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, live as long as the high mountains of Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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